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THE

FIRST MEASURES

Necessary to be taken in the

American Department.

Principles of true Patriotism ought to inspire Ministers with a tender Concernment for the Good of the Public, and determine them zealously to pursue whatever Measures Prudence and Wisdom can dictate, to render the Nation happy, great, and flourishing.

DR. INNES.

L O N D O N:

Printed for W. NICOL, in St. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

MDCCLXVIII.

[Price One Shilling and Sixpence.]

T H E

FIRST MEASURES

to be taken in the



Principles of true Patriotism ought to inspire Ministers with a true
concernment for the Good of the Public, and whenever they are
engaged upon Measures, whether of Peace or War, to consider
the Nation's best, Great, and lasting

Dr. James

L O N D O N :

Printed for W. NICOL, in St. Paul's Church-Yard.

MDCCLXXXII

[Price One Shilling and Sixpence.]

To the Right Honourable

The Earl of HILLSBOROUGH,

SECRETARY OF STATE

FOR THE

AMERICAN DEPARTMENT.

MY LORD,

*T*HERE is nothing more truly absurd, and offensive to good sense than to apologize for doing of that which, from its useful tendency, ought to be done. To amuse a MINISTER is unpardonable, but to suggest interesting hints tending to facilitate his labours for the public service, carries its excuse with its merit. Hence it is, my Lord, that I am inclined to hope you will receive my work with benignity, and indulge me with a fair hearing.

Other authors, with their rhetorical flourishes, may tell the public that your Lordship's abilities are equal'd by nothing but your principles; that the former is as ready to comprehend, as the latter is willing to execute, whatever (within the province of your department and influence), appears calculated to promote the glory of an excellent KING, and the prosperity of a grateful PEOPLE; that your Lordship has made the interest of the subject, and the credit of the state, your particular study and delight; that you are indefatigable; and (what in these degenerate times is still more extraordinary) that you are a disinterested patriot upon Fabrician principles; ready to forego all personal advantages, and to devote yourself and your labours to the service of your country: in a word, my Lord, they may very elegantly say, that you have every qualification necessary for a great and
good

DEDICATION.

good MINISTER. But I shall not follow the example of troubling your Lordship and the public with the enumeration of these noble qualities; because they are truths universally known. Besides, my Lord, modest MERIT (how great soever it may be) is better pleased and gratified by approbation and admiration, than by adulation and ostentation. I shall, therefore, be silent upon a subject which FAME has communicated to the whole Nation, and reserve my encomiums for a new theme; until your Lordship, by some glorious DEED, equal to what may be expected from your superior talents and assiduous patriotism, has signalized yourself in the field of ACTION; which is so very extensive as to give you many opportunities to act, and the public to applaud. Then, my Lord, from principles of self-love and gratitude, I shall join, not with sycophants, but with grateful countrymen, in the common prayer, that your Lordship may long, very long, enjoy your health and your commercial office, to promote the glory of the best of KINGS, by the prosperity of his grateful SUBJECTS: being, with the most profound respect,

My LORD,

Your very humble

And most devoted Servant,

THE AUTHOR.

P R E F A C E.

DR. INNES observes that there is not one man in a thousand who has the endowments and abilities to govern a state; and much fewer yet, who have just notions how to make trade and commerce useful and advantageous to it. I will go a step further than the doctor, and say, there is not one in ten thousand of the former, nor, perhaps, a single dozen of the latter, in this trading nation, who understand commerce politically. **TRAFFIC**, or the art of buying and selling is only the mechanical part of trade, and requires no more knowledge than a comparison of prices between markets, and an eye to expences. And commerce, in the mercantile acceptation, is nothing more than importation and exportation; which is good or bad, just or unjust, in proportion as it suits the wishes, and promotes the interest of particular individuals, who acting upon a principle of self-love, the ideas of traders in general are confined to their sanguine wishes, and whatever does not flatter their ruling principle, is in their confined opinion wrong. But this is considering commerce superficially, only as it affects particular persons, without any thought to the general good, and to the glory of government, and how it may be operated upon by the systems of other nations. For other trading states being greatly influenced by the measures of this superior commercial kingdom they must necessarily give great attention to our commerce and endeavour to frustrate our designs in proportion as they appear to affect theirs. Hence it is, that the various considerations of trade as they affect our own and other states, is the political knowledge of commerce: the most extensive and the most useful science of a numerous trading people; who, for want of these general ideas, are frequently mistaken
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in their censures upon ministerial conduct, because they judge by the rule of their own particular interest. And it often happens that that which is undeniably right in a private view, is indisputably wrong in a general light. And, therefore, though it might be advantageous to particular persons, it ought to be rejected as having a different tendency with respect to the whole nation, to which a prior and greater regard should be given.

I PREMISE this on purpose to shew that the subject requires no common capacity, and to prepare the patience of the reader, that the prolixity of this work may not prejudice him against it. It being convincingly evident that a subject so very important and extensive as that which affects all ought not to be treated with precision. It is either the mistake or presumption of critics to say that it is necessary to come immediately to the point. Commercial matters in which all are concerned, and which all, in a free state, have an equal right to comprehend, should not be treated in a laconic style. Indeed all subjects ought to be introduced with grace, and argued with temper and perspicuity, in order to come, at last, by gradual approaches to the point. Prolixity is more excusable in weighty affairs than precision: the superfluity of the former being infinitely preferable to the deficiency of the latter. But the reverse with regard to trifles. Let it then be allowed in favour of my diffusive style, that when a man writes to a populous trading community there is a respect due to every capacity, both because they all have an equal right to know, and because they all pay alike for their knowledge; and, therefore, if it is necessary to argue precisely to gratify a few, it is still more incumbent on the author to be more diffusive and clear to satisfy the greater number. Prolixity indicates superfluity, which I hope to have avoided; as well as ungenerous reflections. My intention being to serve, not to give unmerited offence. I do not build a new fabric upon the ruins of an old one, but only wish for some wise alterations, that it may be more perfect and permanent. Upon this principle, I have strongly insisted upon the absurdity and dangerous tendency of nominating military and naval officers to govern colonies and promote the success of trade, of which they are totally ignorant themselves. I also lament the little
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good which poetical imaginations do at the board of trade ; and speak with indignity of the ridiculous figure of audacious vociferation, *vox prætera nihil*.

A FREE people have liberty to judge with freedom. But the bold stand, which I have made for impartiality, and an equal distribution of benefits entitles me to the like justice, from the impartiality of the reader ; who, whatever he may think of the depth of my judgment in the execution of this work, will do me but bare justice to believe that I am not confined to any particular individuals, but universally benevolent. I have a reasonable zeal for the interest of my country, and am therefore a friend to the general good, and an enemy to none but the KNAVE in OFFICE : of no party, being unawed, uninfluenced, and unadvised.

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F O R T H E

A M E R I C A N D E P A R T M E N T .

Let us, like a wise architect, lay a judicious foundation to work upon, that we may not (after great trouble and expence to patch and to prop) run the risque of having our brains knocked out by the fall of the edifice.

IT is the greatest error in architecture, to prefer superficial beauty to material solidity; and as great a want of judgment in MINISTERS to attend more to the cultivation and taxation of colonies, than to population and well-adapted regulations. Both stand alike upon a *weak* foundation; and as the private builder, from mercenary motives, endangers the life of the inhabitant by

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the fall of the edifice, so the public architect, from pretty near the same principles, begins at the wrong end, and takes steps equally alarming and ruinous. And yet it is, in general, deemed impertinent and bold for private individuals (notwithstanding they are concerned in public events) to take the alarm, and guard against the consequences by timely admonition. The reason of this is, because MINISTERS are, in general, either as inaccessible as Peruvian mountains, or else think they have sense enough to know all things by instinct, without information and assistance. Hence it happens, that the justest and most affecting complaints are frequently utterly disregarded, and numbers of valuable subjects (whose deplorable situation would move even savages to compassion) are suffered to *starve*; while others, equally oppressed, grow desperate, and, from principles of self-preservation (the greatest law of nature) to themselves, and humanity to their families, perpetrate deeds which accelerate their destruction by the hands of justice. "Thus little rogues submit to fate, while great ones (who are above judicial power) enjoy the world in state." I mean no malevolent reflection upon the authors of public calamities, but a seasonable hint to a new MINISTER, that the subjects of a free state may have a fair hearing for the redress of just grievances.

THERE is nothing that can better exercise the talents, and promote the end of ministerial employment, than an enquiry into affairs of national importance; and as it is impossible that any one man (however blessed he may be with natural and acquired abilities) can know all things which occur, or which do or may affect a great, populous, trading state, without the assistance of other intelligent persons; or that he can determine right about such a multiplicity of important concerns (which in their consequences not only affect this but also many other states) without a thorough knowledge of the natural resources and true interest of his Majesty's dominions, so it is good policy to encourage useful abilities, in order to collect the best information for the service of government. Good policy requires *this*, and a principle of self-love in the Minister makes such a step equally necessary; as the self-love of a Minister, when rightly understood,

stood, cannot be better gratified than by acting uprightly, and conformable to the wishes and interest of the people under his care; for as the consequence of well-judged and happy measures is GLORY, the nation will have gratitude enough to reward him with the greatest marks of confidence and dignity. As this is convincingly evident, it follows, that the first business of a MINISTER is to lay a judicious foundation, in order to be able to form a plan of wise operations. This foundation, or plan of conduct, should be to procure all the intelligence which can possibly be had concerning the posture of affairs, and particularly every interesting occurrence relative to his own department; even at the expence of something considerable, which, by being given to subjects, would, besides the happy effects, by various means return to the state. It is manifest that, without a plan of this sort, it will be utterly impossible for a MINISTER to judge, with prudence, of the general state of things; or to be able to take such measures as are best calculated to promote the general good. For the want of sufficient intelligence how things in general operate and affect each other, he will (and perhaps with the best intentions) act partially for one part, to the injury, and even to the ruin of the rest. For these good reasons, it is extremely impolitic in some MINISTERS to neglect that which deserves their first and greatest attention, it being the very foundation which they must work upon; or, perhaps, more properly the *materials* with which they must lay the basis and raise the structure; which, like all other compounds, can be perfect only in proportion to the goodness and quantity of the *materials*.

It being then indispensably necessary to have a very clear and extensive knowledge of business, it is very immaterial to the purposes of state, how a MINISTER receives intelligence, or from what quarter it is communicated; whether it comes from persons known, introduced with ceremony, and supported by interest; or from an utter stranger, without either ceremony or influence. But some Statesmen (to the reproach of their patriotism) have been so insensible of this great truth, that they have not only neglected, but even treated with indignity, such applications about business of the utmost concernment, as came from

from persons unsupported; contrary to good policy, and even common sense, which teaches us, from a principle of self-love, to give attention to that which can be made useful. While our judicious rivals the French, who are excellent politicians, very generously encourage those persons whose abilities and principles are calculated to promote at once the glory of the SOVEREIGN and the prosperity of his PEOPLE, in which consists the science of government.

THUS, it being manifest that good policy makes it absolutely necessary to encourage real MERIT, no trouble should be spared to find, nor no money grudged to reward, such persons as have talents capable of rendering the most important services to their country; particularly if a good principle and strong inclinations are found to co-operate with their abilities.

A MINISTER, in a superior commercial state, should, like an able merchant, keep a good correspondence; to be able, like a skillful general, to fix upon a judicious plan of operations: for the latter cannot be wisely concerted without the help of the former. A general plan must be formed from general circumstances, which can only be known by faithful informations. And to be judiciously executed, ORDER must be strictly observed. When things are well known, clearly comprehended, and ranged in order, a wise plan is easily conceived, fixed upon, and carried into execution. But a thorough and universal knowledge of the business of a department, must precede good and great measures, like cause and effect.

A CONDUCT established upon so wise a BASIS will necessarily prevent national complaints; but, if any should happen to be made (for there will always be some inconveniencies, even in the best-regulated states, from the imperfect state of nature and art) they will, from such regularity, be easily comprehended, and as expeditiously removed, by a SECRETARY of abilities and true patriotism, whose business, like that of a merchant of an extended commerce, requires more regularity than superlative knowledge; there being a prodigious difference between a *commercial* and *political* secretaryship; between an application to the natural resources and true interest of one's own country, and to the tem-
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per of subjects; and the study of the opposite interests and principles of other great states, the natural enemies of Great-Britain, or, what is still worse, rivals under the cloak of sacred friendship, more dangerous than enemies.

It is really diverting, or, being too serious for mirth, it is exasperating, under our present circumstances, to find some people mention, that public business (I wish they could say profits) increases so considerably as to make it indispensable to multiply great offices, and thereby in direct opposition to good œconomy in the expenditure of the public revenue, increase prodigiously, by places and consequences, the charge of government: for I am convinced in my own mind, that twice the business of state might be more judiciously and more expeditiously transacted without even an additional hand, upon a regular patriotic plan, with able subalterns of *talents* and *principles*; not the sons of idleness and corruption, who distinguish themselves more by the insolence of office, and the *apeing* of superiors, than by their grateful attachment to the interest of a generous PEOPLE, and a dutiful zeal for the glory of a most amiable SOVEREIGN.

It might, with parity of reason, be alledged, that in proportion as the business of a merchant increases, he should increase the number of his partners. But a multiplicity of transactions do not require many masters, but a greater assistance of subalterns. And as I am persuaded that a merchant of great commercial knowledge, can better superintend a correspondence with 50 (I believe I might venture to say 500) different people, than another ignorant of that variety of knowledge, can with five only, so I maintain that the same *inequality* of business may be transacted by an able and honest SECRETARY of STATE; and that therefore the increase of business, was it true, is not a sufficient reason for multiplying the expences of government, and increasing of taxes, which must be the consequence; but, (what shall I call it?) an error in politics on the right side of the *court*, and the wrong side of the *people*, or an oppression upon the public? For even supposing, contrary to my opinion, that business was, in time of *universal peace*, so much increased as to be really too much for two SECRETARIES, the American affairs

(which, to the disgrace of past conductors, have been either strangely transacted, or most shamefully neglected) might very properly be managed in the department of the board of trade; and, by being conducted by the subalterns of that office, it would save the government, or rather the public, who are paymasters, the great expence of a new establishment, which renders the old one an expensive NOTHING; and therefore, as the utility is taken away, that charge to government, which falls upon the people, should also be removed.

THUS, upon principles of architecture, (which are no more than the rules of common sense, though more elegantly termed good policy) I have laid the first stone for the foundation; I shall now by gradual steps raise the structure of the American edifice: whose beauty, uniformity, solidity and utility, depend very much upon a judicious choice of able and honest surveyors, who are appointed by the architect to superintend the several parts of the building.

IT is a sad proof of abilities, or a worse indication of principle, to counteract the aim of government by a conduct contrasted to the glory of the KING, and the prosperity of the PEOPLE.

To appoint military and naval governors over a *free* commercial people, is manifestly a strange contradiction to good policy, and to even common sense. And the MINISTERS who were capable of such an absurd and dangerous nomination deserve to be reproached; it being evident that they must have had in view, the favoring of some particular individuals, to the prejudice of the rest of the community, and to the injury of the state. We can easily conceive what will ever be the consequence of opposite dispositions among a people equally free. Those of the military, naval, and commercial people are as opposite as the poles; as great a contrast as any in nature. I know it both by information and experience, for I have both heard and seen the fatal effects of ignorance and insolence (inseparable companions) in the military and naval gentlemen; who, in general, are very imperious, and, from the almost natural aversion which they have to the traders, they commonly treat them with such contempt, as a free, intelligent, and spirited people (who are not used to mili-
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tary and naval discipline, nor to arbitrary control) are unable to bear; from whence proceeds a number of animosities and grievous complaints of partiality and injustice. For, as the ideas of military and naval officers are extremely confined, they are, in general, totally ignorant of the extensive knowledge of commerce, (which few people thoroughly comprehend in a political light) and therefore are influenced by some persons of their native spot of country, more highly favoured than others, to be partial to a *few*, to the prejudice, and even ruin, of *many*; a conduct very fatal to a colony, and of very bad consequence to a trading people, who should be encouraged by a judicious distribution of benefits; to the end that all being satisfied with their situation, they may be emulous of each other, and extend their trade by every possible method; for in that wise EXTENSION consists the art of making commerce flourish, so as to answer the purposes of individuals, and the ends of the government: which, it is evident, are counteracted by despotic, overbearing, military and naval officers; who, in general, are totally ignorant of commerce, utterly unacquainted with the science of government, and generally inclined to despotism; and therefore the nomination is both impolitic and cruel, contrary to good policy and common sense, which should teach more wisdom than to put men of opposite pursuits, tempers, abilities, and principles together, to bring to perfection one only thing, the science of a *commerical* government, which requires temper, mildness, great experience, a solid judgment, and particular affability and humanity; and it would be a wonder indeed to find all these united in military and naval officers, who generally are by NATURE extremely warm, with strong passions, which they do not endeavour to command, and by PROFESSION arbitrary; with little experience of commerical matters, little solidity of judgment, less humanity, and still less affability: how then is it possible that so great a paradox should be productive of public benefit? How is it possible that military and naval officers can be qualified to govern a free commerical people, according to the mild laws of their constitution, and the good policy of a superior trading state? Had I not experience, common sense would convince me that such military and naval officers (by their

their ignorance and insolence) may, nay must, if not timely prevented, occasion a general insurrection, with many fatal consequences. This has been pretty near instancing by the recent conduct of the Americans, in opposition to the regulations of the mother-country; for, I attribute the adoption of the measure for a STAMP-ACT to wrong informations of incapable governors, who are, too frequently, guilty of dangerous misrepresentations, the better to ingratiate themselves with their patrons, and to hide their own reproachable conduct. In consequence of which unfuitable measures are taken, and inadequate laws are enacted, which distress the people, and greatly disturb and injure government. For this undeniable reason MINISTERS are frequently wrongly reproached, and though they employ all the powers of their capacity, with the best intentions, (for why should they not have good intentions as well as other people?) they are unsuccessful, which occasions dissatisfactions, and reflections upon ministerial patriotism; and they very richly deserve the disagreeable consequences, by being themselves the original cause of it; for it is they who oppose and obstruct the road to their OWN FAME, and to the glory of the nation, by making such an unnatural choice of instruments to execute their intentions.

FROM the acquisition of intelligence, which I have been speaking of, MINISTERS would know where to find talents suitable to every employment; and if they had the good policy to admire *merit* more than *interest*, they would be led to make a natural and judicious choice of subalterns for the exclusive power, who would do credit to their judgment by promoting the prosperity and glory of the nation. Then governors of temper, experience, and judgment, would study the various co-operating causes of rendering a state happy, great, and flourishing; and by giving, from time to time, faithful narratives of their stewardship, and what the country is capable of bearing, a wise LEGISLATURE would take measures adapted to the real state of things; with a view that every *branch* should (with the greatest impartiality) as indeed it ought to do, contribute to the support of the *Tree*, or, if you please, that every *member* shall contribute to the defence and strength of the *body*; which is the common parent, and
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upon whose preservation the particular members depend. For it is upon this principle of general good, which wise legislators of a free people always act; and, therefore, in a late ill-adapted measure, it could not be the intention of the British legislature to impose unbearable laws upon the Americans, destructive to the colonies; which (from a principle of self-love, very natural to the mother-country, which wishes to be benefited by them, as well as from maternal affection) could not be supposed with any colour of probability. We may, therefore, without want of charity, conclude that this, and every other injudicious measure, was entirely owing to, and occasioned by, the misinformations of sycophants and unqualified governors, from whose ill-timed advice they were concerted and carried into execution; and as similar proceedings may ever be expected from such improper governors, (as effects will always be suited to causes) no time should be lost for a reformation; and, therefore, I hope to see a patriot MINISTER attentive to this root of all public evil in America, and expeditiously remove it, by soliciting for a more natural and well-adapted nomination of governors. This is the first material of the structure; the first measure to be adopted in the American department for the prosperity of the colonies, and for the advantage of Great-Britain, whose interests, like those of mother and daughter, are inseparable, and whose views of happiness should be the same, excepting only with the difference between the power of maternal authority, and the obedience of gratitude and filial duty.

By *proper* governors, I mean men of commercial knowledge, and revolution principles; men who have a thorough command over their tempers, and who have affability enough to gratify a free and spirited trading people, who ought not to be intimidated in their various pursuits, but encouraged by every gentle and indulging method that can be thought of, and which is easily compassed by men of parts and benevolent dispositions, who find nothing so easy and permanently agreeable as the doing of such good offices as render the human species satisfied and happy, and themselves the instruments of private benefit and public advantage. Such abilities and sentiments as these are

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worthy

worthy of the admired name of Englishman; and cannot fail of greatly facilitating the success of commerce. This is the true, the natural, and easy method of making colonies flourish; and when they are rendered happy, through the good offices of the mother-country, there is no doubt but the colonists will be obedient and dutiful, from principles of self-interest and gratitude; but particularly from self-love, the first and greatest law of nature, the ruling passion, the hobby-horse, or great object of worldly pursuits. But if, contrary to good policy, and even to common sense, or contrary to the natural light of reason, which teaches self-preservation to every human being; I say, if, contrary to the love which they must naturally have for themselves, they should be insensible of their own interest, and be determined to counteract the means of promoting it, (which cannot be supposed with any degree of probability while they are in their right senses) then they should be compelled to comply with that which is *reasonable* and *just*, according to the meaning of our constitution; for remote subjects inhabiting his Majesty's dominions, are certainly as liable to the same laws as those who are nearer to, or who are resident in, the mother-country, notwithstanding the repeal of the STAMP-ACT (that fatal blow to the authority of laws) may have given some people occasion to be of a contrary opinion.

THAT unsuitable measures, or such as are ill-adapted and grievous, should be amended, no person in his senses will dispute; but that an act of the LEGISLATURE, because it might be (and even that is a doubt) ill-proportioned to circumstances, should be "*totally, absolutely, and immediately*" repealed, almost by compulsion, is, with submission to *big men*, a very strange absurdity, and what I am satisfied every intelligent person will readily allow, excepting only such individuals whose *views* make it their interest and business to support arguments against reason and common sense. If, after this rate, grievances were to be redressed, and laws enacted to be totally repealed, I will venture to say, that in a very short time we should have no laws at all. This incontrovertible truth is asserted by a *young man*, who, while he is exasperated at the corruption and overbearing insolence of some persons, laments the excessive weakness and incredulity of others,
who

who suffer themselves to be grossly deluded and carried away by the torrent of corruption, ambition, and venality.

THE opposition to the STAMP-ACT was of itself a scandalous defiance of the laws of Great-Britain; for, right or wrong as the measure might be with regard to good policy, or, in other words, with regard to the abilities of the Americans, it was indisputably right with respect to the authority of the LEGISLATURE; and, therefore, to oppose it with *open violence*, at the hazard of lives who had the executive power to put the act in force, was undeniably a violation of good order and those laws, and absolutely *high-treason* against the state; which, from the undisputed power of the three branches of the LEGISLATURE, had enacted that law for the good purposes of government; that is, for the benefit of *all*.

IT is therefore convincingly evident that the Americans were precipitate, and, from very wrong ideas concerning the intentions of their common parent and benefactor, (strengthened by the turbulent disposition of some people on that side the water, or perhaps more by the ambition of the principal inhabitants, to be equal in consequence to English senators) became unsufferably disobedient and even outrageous, in contempt of the best laws, and at the hazard of displeasing the best of sovereigns.

IN this fury (for it certainly was superlative madness) it happened, as it always will be the case for plunderers to wish for spoil, to strike the attention of some particular persons of ambition on this side, who (having a great field to display their talents and to gratify their vanity) gave a stronger plea for disobedient independency, by strenuously insisting upon a repeal of the ACT, and carrying their point with *boasts of victory* over an authority which should be treated with greater respect. But really the times are so mercenary, and so ambitious and prostitute are *some* individuals of the most distinguished talents and dignity in the state, that we are taught, by frequent and recent examples, not to be surprized at any event, let it be ever so extraordinary and paradoxical; it being very evident that our laws, however well meant, are too frequently (from the overgrown power of particular persons) executed to gratify the views of powerful individuals, and not to render the nation happy, great, and flourishing.

I BEG the reader's pardon for this long digression ; and having laid the foundation of American policy, I shall now raise the structure, or settlement, and begin with population, which should certainly precede all other considerations, as their source and great support. Population, cultivation and civilization, (I might add, taxation) are the capital *objects* of all governments ; and the glory of states is promoted in proportion to a thorough knowledge of, and attention to the cause ; which, when rightly managed, will very naturally and easily produce effects adequate thereto. Thus, cultivation and civilization being the consequences of population and subordination, the former will necessarily be promoted in proportion as attention is given to the latter.

It has hitherto been the custom to supply America with people, who, for the greater part, were not *good enough* to stay in their native country ; and others, who were extremely indigent, voluntarily migrated in quest of better fortune. These adventurers, and the refuse of the nation, have together made great and powerful numbers. Whether it is good policy to increase POPULATION, and thereby strengthen the power of the Americans, abler heads may determine. But as our late conquests must (as well as other parts of America) be peopled, in order to be made of value, I shall, for the sake of argument, suppose that their numbers must be greatly increased to promote cultivation and civilization of the new-acquired territory ; and proceed to shew how that increase of population in America can be brought about expeditiously and conveniently without emigration of useful subjects, which it is good policy and absolutely necessary to prevent as much as possible ; because the number of subjects who migrate to our remote dominions, and to foreign states, greatly distress our manufactures, arts, and trade, and consequently weaken the nation considerably both by depopulation and the loss of industry. But the bad effects of depopulation are more severely felt in time of war, and is the occasion, for want of hands, that the hardships of the unconstitutional practice of *pressing* becomes inevitable.

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IN so populous a city as London, to which all nations and all professions resort in time of general tranquillity (as will always be the consequence of an extended trade, riches, and industry) there will ever be a great number of foreigners of all sorts and sizes; who being driven by *hard* necessity from their native climates, and not meeting with so expeditious a relief as their imaginations and wishes gave them room to expect from a rich and powerful country, and an indulging benevolent people, they are (in consequence of the sad disappointment) wretchedly poor; and being in a strange country, unable to provide for their wants, and to explain their necessity, they would very gratefully accept any legal employment that could procure them the common and bare necessaries of life.

THESE people are, at present, very numerous in this metropolis, and increase daily and amazingly; and as we cannot prevent their importation into a free state, in friendship with all the world, it is good policy and humanity, both to them and to our own poor, to think of a benevolent and advantageous exportation; which would relieve us of the great burthen of such numbers to be provided for, and keep the employments of industry to our own people; and this prudent emigration of foreigners would keep the price of provisions and other necessaries of life (which are enhanced by numbers) the more reasonable. They are in general peaceable, well disposed, and industrious, and would be very willing to go to any part of his Majesty's dominions upon the smallest encouragement. Suppose then the government should appropriate the sum of 20,000*l.* *per annum* (and as much more as shall appear necessary to the wisdom of parliament) to encourage these distressed foreigners to settle in, and cultivate our American dominions, I calculate, it would raise about 1000 yearly. To carry this plan into execution it is necessary to establish an office for collecting these foreigners, with a director or superintendent, and a few assistants, in order to advertise for such (foreigners only) as chuse to settle in our new acquisitions; for which purpose they should be fitted out and conveyed, at the expence of government, to the respective places designed for them, where land and all fitting encouragement should be given them by a judicious governor.

THIS method of POPULATION is very politic and humane, and can be carried into execution with great facility, and at a moderate expence, which would be returned an hundred fold by the happy consequences. For I am perswaded that such an establishment would be of very great utility to this nation, with regard both to public and private benefit: as great numbers would be encouraged to go upon this footing, who are lost in a strange country, for want of knowing how to make application to go abroad to his Majesty's dominions. And as necessity is the mother of invention, it will necessarily make the poor foreigners industrious, and, by the natural means of cultivation and improvement, they will, under the protection of mild superiors, make a very comfortable provision; and as they and their families would, with proper management, become wealthy in time, there can be no sort of doubt but they would, from a principle of self-preservation, be very peaceable and good subjects to the state to which they become subjects, and owe their preservation and support; and perhaps they would be far better subjects, both with regard to industry and obedience, than the refuse of the English nation; who, having imbibed lawless notions, are more apt, after a state of bondage, to become evil-minded subjects; and it is probable that the independent spirit of *some* Americans may be owing to this cause.

By this excellent regulation we should not only keep the poor of other nations from helping to starve our own industrious poor, (who in these hard times can hardly struggle with the superior power of their miseries) but also make a very valuable acquisition of new and useful subjects; to strengthen, to cultivate, and to civilize our remote territory, which, at an easy rate, will render these acquisitions very valuable to Great-Britain. And these are two such capital objects of new governments, that ought powerfully to operate with a wise LEGISLATURE, and prompt it to patronize this humane and patriot plan: especially as it will, with so good a grace, clear this country of many indigent persons, whom humanity forbids starving; and consequently, as they must be supplied, the increase of numbers, without this emigration, must greatly enhance the price of all the necessaries of life;

life, which is, at present, a capital consideration, and what all are labouring to prevent. At the same time it will keep our own subjects at home for the better purposes of industry, and to serve the state upon an occasion; which, to a nation so peculiarly situated and envied by all the world as Great-Britain, is a thought of the first importance. The plan is therefore trully excellent, and if any MINISTER should carry it into execution, he will deserve the highest compliment from humanity and patriotism.

THAT it is worthy of the patronage of a patriot Minister, will manifestly appear both from what I have said about the happy effects, and because the plan has been adopted by the judicious and politic empress of Russia, who was so sensible of its utility as to put it in execution with imperial spirit: and it had so good an effect, that upon the first publication in London, her Minister there procured 300 foreigners; who, (if we had had so wise an establishment) would rather, we may presume, have went over to our dominions. We have therefore good reason to be assured that, in imitation of the empress good policy, and in consequence of our famed humanity and generosity, our patriot MINISTERS will shew their acute judgment, and adopt the plan, and immediately appoint an active and judicious person, well acquainted with languages, to superintend an establishment of this sort. The expence would be trifling, when compared with the innumerable happy consequences, which in a few years would be surprisngly great; for so many well-meaning and industrious people would make a very rapid progress in cultivation and invention. In the mean time, I calculate this establishment might, upon an average, cost the government 20*l.* *per* man, and computing every man to be worth there 100*l.* to the government, the difference would be so much clear gain to the state; and if, instead of 80*l.* *per* man profit, it was only 50*l.* the gain would be very considerable; and therefore, upon principles either of emolument, good policy, or humanity, the scheme is excellent.

FROM the superior abilities and distinguished principles of lord Hillsborough, we may reasonably expect this, and many other great events; I therefore felicitate my country, and congratulate with his lordship upon his having so noble a field as

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the American department to exercise his talents and patriotism, to the advantage of a grateful PEOPLE; and to the glory of a most gracious SOVEREIGN.

By this plan population will increase rapidly in our new country; and cultivation and civilization will naturally and expeditiously follow, without any trouble or expence to government. Necessity, for the support of numbers, will occasion cultivation, and by these improvements, and the assistance of well-adapted laws, the people will be civilized; and the mother-country will gradually (in proportion as things approach to a flourishing condition) lay such taxation as they can bear, and it may appear reasonable that they should pay, in order to defray the expence of the settlement, and to contribute to the necessities of the British government.

THUS I have endeavoured to prove, that the first STEPS for the American department are, *good intelligence, able subalterns, qualified governors* for the colonies, and *population* without emigration of our useful subjects; for the purposes of cultivation, civilization, and taxation. I may take some future occasion to offer a few remarks upon the trade of the southern part of North-America: for the present, I shall only make a few observations on that to the northward; where, in my opinion, there will be the greatest scope for commerce and power. I shall speak first of the trade of *Canada*, which from the situation and extent of the country, and its natural sources of commerce, might be made a very valuable *jewel* in the British crown, were it not so strangely managed from the following causes:

THE want of a qualified governor to give all that encouragement which is necessary in the *infancy* of a fine colony, which is to thrive by the means of trade and commerce alone. To encourage agriculture, and fishery in all its branches; then promote navigation, cherish the merchants, and encourage every branch of trade.

Secondly, The inability of other officers of the government, and the shameful neglect, or rather, scandalous abuse in the administration of justice.

Thirdly, The exorbitant and ill-judged DUTIES imposed upon the IMPORTS and EXPORTS; which, if not removed, will totally destroy

destroy the trade, and consequently disappoint the mother-country of the advantage expected from that valuable acquisition, which will become of no value, if more suitable regulations are not speedily taken : as it will then be a considerable charge to government, and of fatal tendency to traders concerned in the traffic of that country. This third cause proceeds from the former two, the want of proper officers to make faithful representations of what DUTIES the trade will conveniently bear.

WITH regard to the first and principle cause, if a proper governor was appointed (for it is not sufficient to be civil, and to be liked for politeness) he would give due encouragement to agriculture, whereby the vast country of Canada would produce a very considerable quantity of wheat. With the assistance of the merchants he would, without the aid of government, give such attention to the fisheries of cod and salmon as to make them produce a considerable revenue, besides the happy effects of an increase of trade with the mother-country, which would also be benefited by the consequences. In the third place he would, by proper management, encourage and encrease the trade with the Indians, that they might take off a more considerable quantity of our effects, and give us in return their valuable furs. These three articles of wheat, fish, and furs being considerable in their quantity, are a fine foundation for an extended trade; and would, if they were judiciously managed and superintended by a skilful governor, make very great returns for the manufactures of Great-Britain; they would increase the revenue, and employ shipping; and, of consequence, many hands in trade and navigation.

BUT these happy effects are not to be expected from a military or naval governor, for under their injudicious regulations these means of returns will be lost. The consequence of this is, our merchants send great quantities of goods, and cannot get returns, because the products of the country are most shamefully neglected, for want of a capable governor to superintend and encourage it; and the trade having no other means of return, the merchants, of consequence, become bankrupts, and ruin their friends in England by whom they are supported; to the very great loss of the state, which by such fatal conduct is deprived of the

advantages with regard to the national REVENUE; advantages which would be the natural consequence of a flourishing trade. And England, with a view either to refund the expence of government, or to follow the council of *time-serving* people in office, lays injudicious DUTIES upon a trade which is thrown, by the aforefaid caufes, into the strangest confufion; and therefore, inftead of being able to raife money to answer the demands of the mother-country, fuch meafures put it out of the power of merchants to continue their trade, for the want of which the government is deprived of the DUTIES, to the difappointment both of fubject and ftate. Moderation is therefore the beft policy, for by requiring too much, the whole is frequently loft; and this is entirely occafioned by mifrepresentations, and the want of a qualified governor.

If the public papers are to be credited, there is a *fcheme* under confideration for eftablifhing a *royal-fifhery* at Newfoundland, without making it a monopoly; but this appears to me to be a contradiction, and that the name of *royal-fifhery* is made ufe of the better to conceal the intention of monopolizing that very valuable branch of trade, which employs thoufands of hands, a great quantity of fhiping, and takes great treafure out of the fea; and is therefore a trade that, in its numerous happy confequences to an induftrious commerical people, is more advantageous than golden mines, which (though productive of more *eafy-got* wealth) are not fo ufeful and beneficial to a brave and induftrious nation, as this fifhery; but quite the contrary, for as fuch mines tend to corrupt the Great, and to enervate the *lower orders* of the people, they muft naturally create many evils, while the Newfoundland fifhery furnifhes treafure and employment dire&tly with regard to the fifh, and indire&tly by navigation, commerce, and the other natural confequences of induftry. In fhort, it is an inexhauftible fund of treafure and employment, which, while it promotes plenty in time of peace, is a nurfery for feamen againft a war; and is therefore, on many accounts, one of the moft valuable branches of the Britifh commerce and navigation; and might (under more judicious regulations) be made infinitely more valuable, as I have hinted, to no purpofe, upon a former occafion. I therefore

fore lament that MINISTERS should so much mistake the true interest of their country, and the road to FAME, as to neglect an object of the first consequence to the welfare of this trading state: and that base, ungenerous, selfish, and, I may say, cruel individuals should have so much influence over them as to procure an innovation to confine a trade which, by every art and contrivance, should be extended among his Majesty's subjects; for the advantage of *all* in general, but more particularly of the people inhabiting that part of America, who should be protected and encouraged by every reasonable indulgence, with the politic view of setting all hands to work, to procure themselves comfortable means of subsistence, and to bring to a state of greater perfection that valuable fishery: this is the more deserving of attention at present, because a judicious management of that branch of trade will encourage POPULATION to the southward of the island, at Louifburgh, and at St. John; and when those places are well inhabited and properly encouraged by wise governors, necessity, which is the mother of invention, will oblige numbers, for their own preservation, to be active, and think how they shall make the continent and the sea co-operate for their support; then the *Baccala* fishery will be considerably increased by the vast product of GASPEE BAY and other places in and about the gulph of St. Lawrence; then the valuable fishery of salmon will also be encouraged, and that article, which is much esteemed up the Streights, would produce a considerable annual amount of wealth, and a yearly treasure with regard to the benefits of employment. I am therefore exasperated to see some great people attempting to obstruct the course of these happy consequences, by soliciting for grants of islands, and exclusive privileges, with a view of pocketing these benefits which a free constitution intended for the whole community, and to which all are equally and naturally intitled, both because they have a right to an equal share of the common advantages of trade from the frame of their government, and because they have purchased that right by having alike contributed to the expence of acquisition, and by their still contributing to the charge of preservation and government. A right by inheritance and

and purchase cannot be disputed; and, therefore, even the legislative power itself has not authority to gratify particular persons with the natural and acquired property of their fellow-subjects. For whatever opinion some sycophants may have of supernatural wisdom, and of the powerful influence of some men in the higher order of state, I shall frankly tell them that our representatives in the senate are intrusted for the *public*, not for *private* good, in order that they may *improve* every thing for the advantage of the whole community; and not neglect or abuse the confidence reposed in them, in order either to grow rich themselves, or to suffer others to riot upon the public calamity. I therefore wish, in my zeal for the public prosperity, that our present MINISTERS may have the good sense and good policy to oppose the design which particular individuals have formed to encroach upon the privileges which the *whole* community have to an open, free, and extended trade; particularly that to Newfoundland and its environs: for if it should be confined under the title of the *royal*-fishery, it will absolutely *starve* thousands who have been long used to that trade, and who, having made it the business of their whole life, have no other method of supporting their families, and answering the demands of the government upon them for taxation.

THOUGH I am not acquainted with the tenor of the plan, I can conceive that the innovation tends to circumscribe the trade, though care has *artfully* been taken to declare to the contrary; and therefore I have, in that light, undertaken to oppose it. If I should be mistaken, either those who have delivered the plan, or those who have seen it, may confute me; till then I shall oppose it; since we may, without want of charity, think unfavourably of whatever public business is done privately; for I am of opinion that business of such national importance should not *slide* into the world clandestinely, but that it should be communicated to the public prior to any determinations, in order that intelligent and well-meaning people may communicate their opinions, and frustrate the selfish attempts of mercenary and ambitious private persons.

THIS public discussion is necessary in all commerical matters, but more especially in those which are of the utmost importance to
destroy

distress to every branch of trade, navigation and population, as this certainly is; for surely people who have been upon the spot, merchants who have great experience in the various co-operating causes of that advantageous trade, both as they affect us at home and abroad among other trading states, have some right to be conversant therein; and as no man in his right senses will deny this, neither will they dispute their having another powerful reason to hear and to be heard, and that is, their being *all* so much concerned therein, either directly by being in the business, or connected with those who are; or indirectly, by the influence it has on a government to whose support they largely and cheerfully contribute. And for these potent reasons I am amazed that a principle of self-love in the government does not more frequently give the public opportunities to discuss interesting business of trade; for it would greatly facilitate the labours of the MINISTRY, and, by often saving the people from the jaws of monopolizing WOLVES, would promote the prosperity of the nation, and their own glory, which cannot be raised permanently upon any other foundation. It would save them much uneasiness, and many reproaches about business, which they execute unsuccessfully, with the best intentions, but from the worst informations. And this alone is a very good reason for adopting my plan for discarding *useless* subalterns, who have nothing but interest to recommend them, and for rewarding of *merit* with the politic view of procuring better intelligence, to serve the state, and to render their MINISTRY easy, advantageous, and glorious.

MANY and great would be the advantages to the nation, were some of the most able merchants, who have great experience and an extensive knowledge of trade and commerce at home and abroad, to be members of the board of trade, which is, in general, filled by men whose notions of commerce must necessarily be very confined for want of experience; the appointment to that important office being obtained more frequently through interest than merit: hence proceeds a number of irregularities which are very prejudicial to a trading people, and to a government whose glory depends upon their success.

THE council of commerce is an appellation more expressive, of greater dignity, and more intelligible to foreigners; who (in imitation of the politic French) we should assist in the conception and interpretation of our *hard* language. But, perhaps, the inventor of the word *board* was a keen satyrist, and meant to indicate that the MEMBERS in general (for I except some who are an ornament to society, and a valuable acquisition to the state) have HEARTS as inflexible, and HEADS as hard as that word denotes. And if this is the true sense of it, let it remain without innovation, until more suitable talents than swaggering *vociferation*, and sublime *poetical* genius, fill that important office.

IN a superior commerical state it would be absurd to dispute the utility of commerical abilities, or to deny their superior knowledge in that sphere; but, nevertheless, I would not, by any means, wish to see merchants take the lead in commercial offices to make room for their own interest, and for that of their friends, by taking every advantage for monopolizing trade by contracts and exclusive privileges; therefore, in what I have just mentioned upon that head, I mean, such only as have been merchants, but who are entirely disconnected from commerce, and have no private view to gratify in it. These certainly would do infinite more service than a poetical lord of trade; who, though he may be favoured by the MUSES, and intitled to a seat in Parnassus, is not qualified to sit either at the board, or in parliament. For while he should be seriously considering by what means trade can be extended and MILLIONS be raised; how commerce affects us immediately with regard to ourselves, and indirectly with relation to the trading system of other great states, he is courting the *muses* and *graces*; and when we expect to find him either calculating at the board of trade, or haranguing in the senate in favour of commercial interest, we, to our astonishment, are informed that he has *eloped* with the muse, and (on account of the marriage-act) has taken his *flight* to Parnassus, the seat of true chimerical genius. The Spectator therefore did great justice in speaking of the powers of his *imagination*, which soars so high as to be quite out of the reach of a trading people.

BUT

BUT to return from men to matter ; I think the proposal for a *royal-fishery* is an injustice to *royal-benevolence*, by using that word to give sanction to, and confine to, a *few* that which the most generous benevolence of a good and wise prince would wish to see extended for the benefit of *all* his loyal subjects, to which no SOVEREIGN can give more attention, nor breathe more gracious wishes. The design of this scheme looks something like a late attempt of the London merchants, who being apprehensive of *liberty and free trade*, and of consequence the taking the CHARTER and TERRITORY of the East-India company, have artfully contrived a *round-about* proposal to prevent a general trade, by confining it to particular places, under the conduct of several CHAMBERS to be appointed for that purpose. As, I believe, I am the only person who has wrote extensively about the necessity of laying open the East-India trade, I am, for the sake of my country, greatly pleased to find the company discover their weakness and fears by demanding capitulation. The indirect method of the Londoners to make this innovation, was, with regard to themselves, very injudicious. They have, like a hasty general, exposed their weak side ; and like a culprit-miser, discovered their wealth. These are two such favourable circumstances for the friends to *liberty and free trade*, as will, I hope, ensure success in the suppression of this dangerous monopoly, powerfully rich, and alarming powerful. If the wishes and interest of the people in general are now pursued with a becoming spirit, they will soon be gratified ; for a consciousness of the company's monopolizing benefits to which all have a just and equal right, and a due sense of their having, in more than one instance, forfeited their CHARTER by usurping the sovereign power of making and exchangeing nabobs or viceroys, will convince them they ought no longer to resist, but voluntarily resign to the government CHARTER and TERRITORY, and give such assistance as those traders are able, with regard to affairs in India, in order to make them of the greater ease and benefit to the government. The discovery of their money, while it prevents their pleading *poverty*, convinces the nation how lucrative their trade and conquests have been ; and how immensely valuable

one will be to the subject, and the other to the state. An observation which is recommended to our senators; who, as well as the rest of my readers, will, I hope, excuse the digression for the sake of the hint, and I shall resume the subject of the American business.

I HAVE mentioned that the trade of Newfoundland is already of very great private and public utility; it may be made still more considerable and valuable, both with regard to the fishery and the fur trade upon the island, which might be considerably promoted. Not under the direction of a *commodore*, or any other naval or military officer, whose discipline is not agreeable to free, industrious people. Trade must be *caressed* before it can be made to thrive; and therefore a good *understanding*, much *experience*, and a suitable *temper*, ought to meet in a governor, instead of ignorance and an overbearing disposition. If a proper governor was established at Newfoundland, it would pay all the expence, and increase the trade without costing Great-Britain a *farthing*. Suppose, for example, one was sent to settle to the southward with 500 of the foreigners I have spoken of, at the expence of government for one year only, at the rate of one shilling per day each, it would make

Subsistence for the voyage, which we will suppose	£. 9125 0 0
one month at the above rate, is	750 0 0
Freight of 500 at one shilling each	750 0 0

Expence of the settlement	£. 10,625 0 0
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To be reinstated thus:

Suppose there are 200,000 kintals of fish exported, a duty of six-pence per kintal

would make £. 5000 0 0

Charge.

Governor, collector, and other officers	1500 0 0
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One year's clear revenue	£. 3500 0 0
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THIS revenue and the interest of money would in *three years* reimburse the sum advanced; during that time let all trade with England and Ireland, for provisions and goods fit for the island, be free of duty. By that time, I suppose the island may be in a prosperous way, and then it would be right to impose such duties and charges upon *importation* and *exportation*, as may appear proportioned to what the place can bear, in order that the island may not only repay the charge of public buildings and all other expences of government, but also bring in something considerable to the mother-country, besides the great benefits which will easily and naturally result from increasing the trade of the nation and employing a great number of hands, and a greater quantity of shipping.

THE *duty* on the exportation of fish would be no hindrance to the *sale*; because, as catholic countries cannot do without it, (for the people will be better christians without the *Jesuits*, who, wicked sinners! made no scruple of preferring flesh to fish) they must buy it through necessity, and the annual consumption of the English fish is very considerable; and will be more so, when by this regulation, we prevent the French from running away with the trade; and could this more easily and effectually be put a stop to by my plan, than by sending a naval officer every fishing season to govern, to domineer, to swagger, to menace, and shew all the airs of insolence and ignorance? I am persuaded that this scheme will be universally subscribed to by the public in preference to any plan for confining it under any title or sanction whatever. The increasing POPULATION upon the island, and in the neighbouring places, would, in time, add convenience and strength to Canada, and make those northern parts both for strength and commerce the most valuable part of North-America. As I am sensible of the inestimable treasure of this inexhaustible fund of commerce, I am heartily zealous for the trade of that part; not upon American principles, but upon revolution principles, invariably attached to mild laws, and to the best of KINGS. For though I am a professed Cosmopolite, divested of blind national prejudices, I have a patriotic predilection for the glory of England, my native country.

THE public would be glad to know by what authority governor commodore *Palliser* was pleased to forbid the fishery of the inhabitants of Canada on the coast of *Labrador*; a privilege which trading subjects are intitled to, and which they had enjoyed before his time; and who in consequence of their vicinity and knowledge of the fishery, and the nature of the place, had employed much time, and expended a great deal of money to bring to perfection. One merchant of Quebec, in particular, laid out between two and 3000 pounds to make a proper preparation for a *post* and *nets* to carry on the fishery on the coast of Labrador, and after he had disbursed so much money, he and his associates were forbid by Mr. *Palliser*, to carry on the fishery, under very severe and unconstitutional restrictions; to the very great prejudice of the gentlemen concerned, as well as of the public; for no other people are so well qualified to carry on that fishery as those in the Canadian trade. What view our *brave* commodore could have in such conduct, I am at a loss to tell, unless he thought of reaping the advantages, either for himself, or other people to whom he may be attached. But if that was his view, I am convinced in my own mind that he will be mistaken, since it is only in the power of the Canadians who are particularly acquainted with the situation, and the *means* of conducting the fishery, and have money to make the erections and other preparations, who can reap any advantage by it. To others who are ignorant, or who have not a thorough knowledge of these things, it would be a loss of time, dangerous in the pursuit, and ruinous in the consequences. The public is therefore at a loss to conceive by what AUTHORITY Mr. *Palliser* made such an unjust and impolitic prohibition; for it cannot be supposed that the government of GREAT-BRITAIN (whose design is, or ought to be, both from principles of good policy and humanity, to make trade flourish for the advantage of every subject without distinction) would authorize him to *injure* and *distress* any one part of the trading people; especially as such a measure cannot answer any good purpose. For every person who has any knowledge of the fishery on the coast of Labrador, must be sensible of the truth of what I have advanced, that there are no people

so well situated and qualified to make any thing of the fishery on that coast as the people of Canada; nay, no other people (for want of the advantages of situation and knowledge) can carry it on without considerable loss; whereas if the Canadians, by whom, I mean chiefly the people of Quebec, were properly encouraged therein, they would carry it on to considerable advantage to themselves and benefit to the community. Besides, as it can answer no purpose but that of bringing ruin on other people who may injudiciously be concerned therein, it is both impolitic and cruel to deprive the Canadians of a trade which would be very convenient and beneficial to them; for it would be so considerable as to make one third of their returns in FURS and OIL. It was accounted to be so much before, and it will of course be more considerable when it is brought to a state of perfection. But it has been very strictly and arbitrarily forbidden by our commodore and by captain Hamilton: so that the people of Quebec who have a large property in buildings and apparatus for the fishery, can make no use of them; being obliged, by such *arbitrary* restrictions, to forsake the trade, and to quit their property. But I hope JUSTICE will soon overtake the offenders, and oblige those who have transgressed to make suitable recompence to the SUFFERERS, who are many; and that proper GOVERNORS will be appointed with instructions to leave the trade open again, for the benefit of all his Majesty's subjects, and particularly of such as were the first adventurers; and for the advantage of the British nation, which consists in the flourishing condition of her trading subjects in general.

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